

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-10

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY
INFO AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
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USDOCOSOUTH PASS CINCOSOUTH FOR POLAD
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CINCUSNAVEUR, EUCOM PASS POLADS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PLOS, PBOR, LY, IT, TS

SUBJECT: GUIDANCE FOR DISCUSSION WITH TUNISIANS ON SHELF
DISPUTE WITH LIBYA

REF: (A) TUNIS 2049 (B) TUNIS 2050 (C) TUNIS 2107
(D) TUNIS 2108 (E) TUNIS 2163 (NOTAL) (F) TUNIS 2164 (NOTAL)

1. EMBASSY HAS REPORTED THAT ITALIAN RIG SCARABEO-4
REMAINS AT DRILLING SITE UNDER LIBYAN AUSPICES WITH QADHAFI
PRESSING FOR IT TO RESUME OPERATIONS; THAT TUNISIANS CON-
SIDERING EXPLORATORY DRILLING 20-KMS. TO NORTH; AND THAT
QADHAFI IS NOW ASSERTING JURISDICTION EVEN FURTHER NORTH
OVER ISIS FIELD, OR AT LEAST PART OF IT. FOLLOWING IS OUR
ANALYSIS OF THESE CLAIMS.

A. ALTHOUGH LIBYANS HAVE NEVER TO OUR KNOWLEDGE SPELLED
OUT THEIR SHELF CLAIMS IN ANY FORM OTHER THAN BY GRANTING
CONCESSIONS, AND WE HAVE ONLY APPROXIMATE COORDINATES ON
EXTENT OF THESE CONCESSIONS, POSITION OF SCARABEO-4 IS
CLEARLY IN AREA OF OVERLAPPING CONCESSIONS GRANTED BY
TUNISIA AND LIBYA. HOWEVER, IT LIES ON TUNISIAN SIDE OF
ALL BUT ONE OF FIVE HYPOTHETICAL SHELF BOUNDARY LINES

(APPLYING CERTAIN APPLICABLE PRINCIPLES OF LAW IN A VARIETY
OF WAYS), BY BUTTES PETROLEUM LEGAL COUNSEL NORTHCUTT ELY
IN 1976 OPINION.

B. POINTS IN ARC 20 KMS. TO NORTHWARD OF SCARABEO-4
WOULD STILL BE IN AREA OF OVERLAPPING CONCESSIONS, BUT
WOULD LIE ON TUNISIAN SIDE OF ALL RPT ALL OF ELY VARIANTS
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OF BOUNDARY.

CM CENTER OF ISIS FIELD (PER REFTTEL C) AND THREE ISIS
FIELD WELLS THAT ARE SHOWN ON CHARTS HERE ARE ALSO ON
TUNISIAN SIDE OF ALL ELY BOUNDARY LINE VARIANTS. MORE-
OVER, AS FAR AS WE CAN DETERMINE HERE, ISIS WELLS APPEAR
TO BE SOME 10-20 MILES NW OF NORTHERNMOST LIBYAN CONCES-
SION AREA (L-1). WE ARE CONTINUING SEARCH FOR AUTHORI-
TATIVE SOURCES ON LIBYAN CONCESSIONS, BUT AS OF NOW WE
CAN SEE NO BASIS FOR QADHAFI'S ALLEGED DEMAND THAT TOTAL
COMPANY SUSPEND ISIS ACTIVITIES. NOTING AMOCO'S PARTICI-
PATION WITH TOTAL IN ISIS EXPLORATION AND PROJECTED
PRODUCTION, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT QADHAFI COULD TAKE ACTION
AGAINST RESIDUAL MINOR AMOCO INTERESTS IN LIBYA, AS WELL
AS AGAINST FRENCH AND ITALIAN INTERESTS.

2. AS A MATTER OF POLICY, U.S. DOES NOT TAKE SIDES ON
LEGAL MERITS OF SHELF OR OTHER BOUNDARY DISPUTES IN WHICH
WE ARE NOT PARTIES. AS IN PAST, WE WILL CONTINUE TO LIMIT

OUR ADVICE TO PROVIDING TUNISIANS WITH ANSWERS TO TECHNICAL QUESTIONS. HOWEVER, QADHAFI'S STATEMENTS AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY TUNIS ARE CLEARLY PROVOCATIVE AND WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD NECESSARILY REMAIN NEUTRAL IN FACE OF AN ATTEMPT BY LIBYANS TO RESOLVE DISPUTE BY THREAT OF FORCE.

3. SINCE QADHAFI HAS FOR THE MOMENT REJECTED ICJ ADJUDICATION AND HAS THREATENED TO USE FORCE, WE BELIEVE TUNISIANS HAVE A LEGITIMATE BASIS TO SEEK SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION. U.S. POLICY IS TO SUPPORT RIGHT OF ANY UN MEMBER TO BRING TO ATTENTION OF SC ANY DISPUTE OR SITUATION WHICH MIGHT LEAD TO INTERNATIONAL FRICTION OR ENDANGER THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE, AS PROVIDED FOR IN CHAPTER VI OF UN CHARTER. IN THIS CASE, OUR INITIAL JUDGMENT IS THAT SC DEBATE WOULD HELP TUNISIA BY BROADENING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR WHAT APPEARS TO BE A REASONABLE
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AND RESTRAINED ATTITUDE AND PERHAPS BRING INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE ON QADHAFI TO ADOPT A MORE CONCILIATORY POSTURE.

4. TUNISIANS SHOULD BE AWARE, HOWEVER, THAT CURRENT MEMBERSHIP OF SC IS SOMEWHAT WEIGHTED IN FAVOR OF RADICALS IN AFRO-ARAB GROUPS--INCLUDING LIBYA ITSELF, BENIN, AND MAURITIUS. USSR COULD ALSO BE A PROBLEM. FOR THIS REASON, TUNISIANS SHOULD BE PREPARED, BEFORE TAKING MATTER TO SC, TO CARRY OUT SOME CONCERTED LOBBYING WITHIN THE ARAB CAUCUS AND WITH FRIENDLY AFRICANS TO DETERMINE PROSPECTS FOR BROAD SUPPORT FOR THEIR POSITION. ALTHOUGH TUNISIANS MIGHT WISH TO HAVE SC SPECIFICALLY RECOMMEND ICJ ADJUDICATION, THIS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT TO ACHIEVE. SIMILAR ATTEMPT BY GREECE IN LAST SUMMER'S AEGEAN DISPUTE WAS UNSUCCESSFUL, EVEN THOUGH ICJ WAS ALREADY CONSIDERING ONE ASPECT. RESULTING RESOLUTION CALLS ON PARTIES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT, REDUCE TENSIONS, TO RESUME BILATERAL TALKS, AND TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE CONTRIBUTIONS THE ICJ MIGHT BE ABLE TO MAKE TO A SETTLEMENT OF LEGAL DIFFERENCES. THIS OUTCOME HAD A CALMING EFFECT ON AEGEAN DISPUTE, AND SIMILAR RESULTS MIGHT BE ACHIEVED IN CURRENT CONTROVERSY.

5. YOU SHOULD MAKE IT CLEAR THAT DECISION TO TAKE MATTER TO SC IS FOR TUNISIA TO MAKE, IN LIGHT OF CONSULTATIONS WITH ARABS, AFRICANS AND PERHAPS OTHER WESTERN MEMBERS OF COUNCIL (UK, FRANCE, FRG, AND CANADA). AT SAME TIME YOU MAY ASSURE TUNISIANS THAT, SHOULD GOT DECIDE TO GO TO SC, WE WILL SUPPORT INSCRIPTION, STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH THEM AND BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE.
CHRISTOPHER

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